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Randolph Crossley and His Half-Century in Hawai'i

ANYONE FAMILIAR with the politics of Hawai'i in the last half of the 20th century has run across the name of Randolph Crossley. In my two books about this period, there are several references to this significant member of the Republican Party of Hawai'i. In *The Specter of Communism in Hawaii*¹ there are three index references to Crossley, all having to do with the year 1950 and the simultaneous convening of the Constitutional Convention for the proposed State of Hawai'i and the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Honolulu. In *John A. Burns, The Man and His Times*² Crossley gets four index references, guiding the reader to a brief summary of his political career from 1943–1953 and his unexpectedly strong run for the governor's chair against John A. Burns in 1966. Other than this, until two years ago, I knew very little about this man who lived and worked in Hawai'i for nearly half a century.

Shortly after the rollout of the Burns biography in April 2000, I had an opportunity to meet Randolph Crossley where he now lives in Monterey, California. I wasn't sure where such a meeting might lead, but having nothing to lose I said that I would be happy to meet with him. When I arrived at the Park Lane, an assisted-living residence managed by Hyatt, I encountered a 96-year old man with a remarkably nimble

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mind and a memory that reached back over his years in Hawai'i with acuity and passion. After two hours of taped conversation with Crossley, I came away convinced that the failure of the John A. Burns Oral History Project—one of the richest existing repositories of primary source material for political historians of 20th century Hawai'i—to have interviewed this man had been a significant oversight. Dan Boylan, my former writing partner and one of the key interviewers in the Burns project, was quick to agree.

This article is an attempt to fill that gap in the John A. Burns Oral History Project. It is not an analytical piece, but the story of Randolph Crossley as told by Randolph Crossley. It is based upon three separate taped interviews with Crossley on 25 August 2000, 20 June 2001 and 8 June 2002. It is not a *verbatim* transcript of our conversations, but a blended version of three extended conversations. In some cases the words of Crossley on a certain subject may have been taken from different conversations on the same subject, but they are his words, nonetheless. My role was to shape and edit the interviews based upon my knowledge of the period and events in question.

The fact that there were three separate interviews over a twenty-two month period is reflective of what I call the onion approach to oral history. Each interview peeled away another layer or two of the protective outer layers of the onion. Between each session I took the opportunity to discuss what I had discovered with others who are knowledgeable about the time and events covered in this article and to prepare for the next round with greater insight than the last. By the time of the final interview, Crossley and I had enough respect for, and confidence in, one another that some of the toughest questions with which we had to deal could be asked without self-consciousness or defensiveness. Not all oral history interviews have the luxury of using the onion approach, but I would heartily recommend it to my colleagues. No doubt some will take issue with certain points made in this article. This is as it should be. It is my hope that those who have additions or corrections to make to this record will do so with letters to *The Hawaiian Journal of History*.

Randolph Crossley was born in Cupertino, California in 1904. His father, John P. Crossley, who raised apricots and prunes in what is now known as the Silicon Valley, died when Crossley was fifteen. From that time on he was, in his own words, "on my own." Crossley's paternal

grandfather, who died before his grandson was born, brought the family to the Santa Clara Valley area in the 1890s. He had been in shipping before coming to California. His original home port was in Rhode Island. He owned a trading vessel known as a bark, a three-masted sailing ship. He would contract to take cargo anywhere in the world. Because of his father's vocation, Randolph Crossley's father went to school in a variety of places, including London at one point. On another occasion, while his grandfather was in port at Bombay, there was a fire aboard his ship and he and his family were stuck in India for six months during repairs. Crossley's father was consequently enrolled in an English school in Bombay. Oddly, Crossley's father never spoke to his son about these experiences. Instead, he heard about them from his older sister. "If I had asked questions of my father, I probably would have learned a great deal about him, but I didn't know the questions to ask, and I guess I just didn't have the curiosity then."

Crossley's maternal grandfather, Edwin G. Hall, was originally from Henderson, Kentucky. He first came to California in 1849 with a string of horses and supplies. "He realized that the actual panning for gold was not going to be a profitable venture for very many of those who came to the gold fields. He saw that there was a lot of money to be made hauling things from San Francisco to the gold fields. Hall went back to Kentucky during the Civil War to fight on the side of the Confederacy. When the war was over, he returned to California and settled in the Santa Clara Valley, in Cupertino, and became a farmer." His next door neighbor was John P. Crossley. Two of their children formed a union that produced Randolph, two brothers, and three sisters.

Crossley made his way through high school and three years after his father's death he began college at the University of California at Berkeley, in a program that allowed him to work and study at the same time. A restless young man, Crossley dropped out of the university and looked for work that would let him see something of the world. His first job after leaving Berkeley took him halfway around the world to the Philippines in 1924 where he worked for Calamba Sugar Central at Canlubang, fifty kilometers south of Manila.

In the Philippines, Crossley met Florence Pepperdine, his future wife, while she was on a cruise to the Orient with her father and sister.

Florence's father, George Pepperdine, was the founder of Western Auto Supply of California, a company that operated automotive parts stores in the eleven western states and the Territory of Hawaii. This was the same man who, in 1937, founded Pepperdine College on Vermont Street in downtown Los Angeles. It is now Pepperdine University and its main campus is located in Malibu. A romance developed between Randolph Crossley and Florence Pepperdine during her 1926 visit to the Philippines. Their subsequent correspondence convinced the young man that he wanted to spend the rest of his life with her. In July 1927, Crossley quit his job and left the Philippines for Los Angeles, to seek work and to pursue the woman who would become the love of his life. They were married on 23 July 1928, a marriage that lasted until her death almost seventy years later.

In Los Angeles, Crossley worked for an advertising agency for about a year prior to his departure for Hawai'i. He had some experience with advertising when he had worked in the Philippines and found it was something he enjoyed and did well. On their first anniversary—the paper anniversary—Crossley gave Florence a rather unique gift. "I gave her an envelope," he recalled. "She said, 'What's this?' I said, 'Open it up.' She looked and there were two tickets for Hawai'i. And she said 'Oh, wonderful!' for she loved Hawai'i which she had visited twice before. 'How long are we going to stay?' and 'Can you afford this trip?' And I said, 'No, I can't afford it, but we're going to go there to live.' And she was delighted." So in the summer of 1929, just months before the Great Crash, Mr. and Mrs. Randolph Crossley took up housekeeping in Hawai'i.

Crossley did not come to Hawai'i without a plan. As he told Florence, he had "done my research and I have found that there is very fine opportunity for an advertising agency in Hawai'i." A few months after his arrival, he brought Milton Holst, the art director for the advertising agency with whom he had worked in Los Angeles, to Hawai'i to join his new company. "And so I founded Crossley Advertising and that was my first business." When asked if his wealthy father-in-law had helped to finance this business venture, Crossley responded with an emphatic "No, I did it all from scratch. It didn't take much capital to start such a business and I was very fortunate to have immediately secured good clients and got a good cash flow from the beginning."

When questioned further about his wife's money, Crossley

responded, "We had an understanding from the time we were married that her affairs were hers and mine were mine. She kept her own accounts and I kept mine. There were, of course, some mutual house-keeping accounts, but she was very independent and so was I. She didn't really have any income, though, until her mother, Rose Pepperdine, died in 1931 of parrot fever. Rose and Florence's sister, Este [short for Esther], had been to South America together in 1931 and they bought a parrot which they brought back to Los Angeles with them. One week after their return from South America, Rose and Este sailed to Hawai'i to be with Florence for the birth of our first daughter. While on the voyage over, Rose came down with a terrible fever. When she arrived she was in a coma. She never came out of it. She died in Hawai'i within three days of her arrival. It took a long time to diagnose the cause of her death, parrot fever being very rare in those days." When the child came, she was named Meredith Lokelani [Rose of Heaven] Crossley, in honor of the grandmother she never met.

"After Florence's mother died, life changed. My wife then inherited a great deal of money. Her mother had been secretary, and maybe treasurer, I'm not sure, of Western Auto Supply. She was a partner in the business in every sense of the word. She was a very astute woman and she left her fortune to her two girls, my wife and her sister. It wasn't too much to begin with, but it grew over the years. It was managed by the trust department of a bank in Los Angeles. I had nothing to do with it. The money was hers to do with whatever she wanted. At the time she wanted a home I couldn't afford. But now she was able to buy the home on Diamond Head in 1932 with money she had inherited from her mother. So I benefited indirectly from her family money, but it was never used for my business ventures. This was her home, and even when I was living and voting in Kaua'i, my wife's residence was on O'ahu. Of course I came home almost every weekend."

George Pepperdine lived many more years, dying at the age of 76 in 1962. "In 1937, he went to his two daughters, Florence, my wife, and Este, her sister, and he said, 'I came into this world with nothing and I intend to leave with nothing. I will give my entire fortune to found a Christian college with an emphasis upon ethical business practices.' And that was the basis of what is now Pepperdine University. He wanted the concurrence of the two girls. My wife gave it immediately. Her sister was not as forthcoming, but as the value of her mother's

trust grew it ceased to be an issue.” Returning to the discussion of his advertising business, Crossley made a point of learning about his new community. “The first thing I did when I got here was to hire a man in the Territorial Tax Office, a pure Hawaiian, who came to my office every morning at seven o’clock and we spoke Hawaiian for one hour, until he had to go to work. And that’s how I learned to speak—and later to read—the Hawaiian language.”

Crossley also had the wisdom to hire some well-placed locals at his firm. “One of my employees at Crossley Advertising was Walter Macfarlane, a son of Kamokila Campbell, one of the four daughters of James Campbell and an heir to that estate. Walter was my ‘local’ and liaison to the *kama‘aina* community.” It was from Walter Macfarlane, Crossley recalled, that he “began to get my knowledge of the background of Hawai‘i.”

Crossley Advertising’s first client in Hawai‘i was the Bishop Trust Company. His job was to help sell building lots in a new sub-division called St. Louis Heights, “at nine cents a square foot. We wrote all the ads and initiated a sales program for the project.” The experience got Crossley interested in acquiring real estate for his own account, “in Waikiki and in other places.” As Crossley’s other business interests grew, he sold his advertising company to Milton Holst in 1931, “for one dollar.” The new company, called Holst & Macfarlane, eventually sold out to the mainland advertising giant, McCann, Erickson.

Crossley then turned in a totally different direction. “After the sale of my advertising agency, I bought controlling shares of Hawaiian Tuna Packers, Ltd., from Robert Shingle, Mark Robinson and others. They were anxious to sell and didn’t need a lot of money down. Shingle was married to Muriel Campbell, another of James Campbell’s four daughters. While Crossley found Mark Robinson an “ethical man,” he quickly formed a different opinion of Robert Shingle. “Soon after I bought the controlling shares of Hawaiian Tuna Packers, Robert Shingle tried to hire our manager and sign up boats from our fishing fleet. He failed because the manager stuck with me and he was able to keep our fishermen for Hawaiian Tuna Packers.”

But Crossley’s biggest problem was not unprincipled competition from one of the men from whom he had purchased the company; the real problem was the economy he faced. “When I bought Hawaiian Tuna Packers in 1931, the depression hadn’t really hit the Islands yet.

It had hit the mainland, but not Hawai'i. My problem was that the wholesale price of tuna, at the time I bought the company, was \$33 a case. By the end of 1931 it went down to \$13 a case. My cost of producing it was \$15 and I was broke." The combination of owning a highly leveraged asset, little working capital and low tuna prices had done him in.

"In the meantime, however, while I owned Hawaiian Tuna Packers, all the fishermen were Okinawans. They had many relatives and when the pineapple business was going sour they had come to me before I was broke and borrowed money to build a cannery on Kaua'i. So I took a mortgage on their building and equipment. Even though I lost every cent that I had on O'ahu, I still had this asset at Kapa'a, Kaua'i. Having an agricultural background, I decided to go into the pineapple business and I took over all of their property and equipment."

Needing more modern equipment, Crossley sought to buy some from a cannery on the island of Hawai'i which had been started by Pratt Lowe of Santa Clara, California, but had recently gone broke. "But no one in the industry would sell me a single piece of equipment or planting material. I was an outsider." Not easily discouraged, Crossley persisted and by 1934-1935 he had put together a group of independent growers "who had been cut off by Amfac and Kauai Pine-[apple] from being able to sell their crops. I hired Dorsey Edwards from the University of Hawai'i's agricultural division to be my overall manager and Walter Smith as my cannery superintendent. This is how I started Hawaiian Fruit Packers at Kapa'a."

By the end of World War II Crossley had a profitable business and had been largely accepted by those in the pineapple industry who had attempted to prevent him from getting started in the early 1930s. He spoke at length about labor relations between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the ILWU, and the pineapple industry in the years following the war: "I was chairman of the negotiating committee for the entire pineapple industry in Hawai'i. I talked with Harry Bridges many times. I first met Bridges in 1947 at the beginning of the pineapple strike negotiations of that year. The meetings with Bridges, Jack Hall and Louis Goldblatt took place in various localities. In Honolulu, the meetings were usually held at the boardroom of the Hawaii Employers Council. In San Francisco, where we would meet to review material, the meeting would take place at the

Saint Francis Hotel, either in my room or the room of our labor counsel, whoever that might be. Most of the negotiations took place in Hawai'i."

"We would usually meet early in the morning, at seven or eight o'clock. In those days we always put bottles of milk on the table. It was before milk was homogenized, so it would separate and there would be cream on the top. So I would hand the bottle over to Harry and say, 'Harry, you always want the cream, so go ahead and take it.' At the time he had ulcers. But the interesting thing about my relationship with Harry Bridges was what Harry told the other members of the committee: Neal Cadigan of Hawaiian Pineapple, the largest employer in the pineapple industry; Jack Driver of Del Monte; and Brittie Butler of Libby, McNeill & Libby. He turned to them and he said, 'When Randy Crossley makes a promise, I know it will be kept. For the rest of you guys, you're just hired hands.' Oh, he was cruel to them. And it embarrassed the hell out of me, but that was our relationship."

"When the ILWU struck the industry in 1947, a strike that lasted about five or six days, Harry immediately called me and said, 'Randy, this is not my strike. We'll get it stopped as soon as we can. So, you have won a battle, but you will lose the war, because our next strike you will not be able to win.' That one was on Lāna'i, in 1948. He said it would be bloody and it was."

"When they struck the first time, they put a hundred pickets around my little cannery. We were only 2% of the industry. I was just a small fry, but I owned my own company. They really wanted to close us down. I drove the first truck through the picket line. I kept blowing the horn. One guy finally stood there and I ran right into him. He slid right under the truck, between the front wheels. When I stopped, the man climbed out, uninjured. I had the police there and I told them, 'They have had ample warning. This fruit is going in. If we can't can our fruit, I'm broke.' Pineapple ripens at 4% a day and if I hadn't been able to can it on a daily basis, there would have been no more cannery. Only twenty field hands went out, all Filipino. None of the cannery workers went out and we operated full bore. All told we had about 250 employees at the cannery. They were of Japanese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Portuguese and Caucasian descent. There were also six Gilbert Islanders who were there as summer employees."

"After the 1947 strike I figured that I needed somebody with finan-

cial clout to back me up. So I went to Stokley-Van Camp in Indianapolis and made a wonderful deal with them to become an exclusive buyer of our packed or canned fruit in exchange for guaranteed financing. In the 1950s I finally sold out to Stokley-Van Camp for cash and a lot of stock. The cash was nice, but the stock was what really became the basis of my fortune. As it increased in value, I sold it off to finance other business ventures, most of which were very successful."

The most important of these new businesses was the Aloha Trading Stamp Company, a business venture that epitomized Crossley's entrepreneurial skills. "That's an interesting story. I had a friend who ran the Van Camp side of Stokley-Van Camp. He called me one day from New York and said, 'Randy, I've just made an investment in a trading stamp company and I think there might be an opportunity for a duplicate company in Hawai'i.' So I said, 'Send me whatever information you have on it and I'll look it over.'"

"I'm a venture capitalist and I could see the potential in it right away. But the only thing that would make it work would be to have some grocery chain that would take them on right away. So I bought Piggly Wiggly Markets from Theo H. Davies & Company. They had five or six stores at the time and they weren't doing very well. I also had my Okinawan friends who owned Big Way and Star Markets. So I went to them and sold them on the idea of including trading stamps to improve their sales volume, and they bought it. My initial investment was \$80,000."

"But I had learned my lesson about the fact that I was an entrepreneur, not an operator, so I started looking for somebody to manage my trading stamp business. At that time I had seen on television one of those shows where an individual demonstrates knives and other cutting tools by cutting up vegetables for the TV audience, [what we now call infomercials]. At the time there was a fellow by the name of Ed Brennan who was doing these commercials on Hawaiian television. I looked him up and told him, 'You look like you could sell this thing. He was just out in the Islands for these demonstrations, so I asked him, 'What would it take for you to stay and run this company for a year?' And he said \$25,000 plus a car and living allowance. So I hired him. The first year we did over \$1 million and I said, 'This is a gold mine.'"

"In order to find out more about how to buy premiums and main-

tain a catalog, I consulted a friend, Bill Gaskell, who had worked for Hawaiian Pineapple and now worked with the S&H Green Stamp Company, heading up their public relations department. S&H was then headed by a man by the name of Bill Bienecke, who had married a Sperry of the original Sperry and Hutchinson partnership. The company had been family owned since its inception. So I went back to New York to meet with Bill Gaskell and he introduced me to Bienecke. I told Bienecke that I had this company and asked how I could get help from him on how to best operate it. He said, 'What's in it for us?' I told him that I would pay for the information or we could form a partnership.' He said, 'We don't have partnerships.' I finally worked out a deal with them where they gave me access to their sales manager and anybody else I wanted to talk to within the company. Bienecke's side of the deal was twofold. First, he wanted somebody to show him around Hawai'i from an insider's point of view, not just as a tourist. Second, he wanted the first right of refusal if I ever sold the company."

"So I operated the company for seven years and then I decided that the life cycle of that type of business would maybe be ten years. So I told Bienecke, 'You have an option to buy the company.' He said, 'How much do you want for it?' I said, '\$1.2 million; one million for the company and \$200,000 for the inventory.' They sent their people out. They studied it and studied the market and finally said that they weren't interested and released me from my obligations. In the meantime, Curt Carlson, who owned Gold Bond Trading Company, S&H's biggest competition, called me on the phone and said that he had heard that I was interested in selling Aloha Stamp and that Gold Bond was interested in buying it. The day the option with S&H expired, I got a call from Carlson and he bought the company over the phone for \$1.2 million cash. I had one requirement, which Gold Bond agreed to, and that was that Ed Brennan be kept on the payroll at \$40,000 a year. They kept Brennan on and got him involved with other things and made a millionaire out of him. The trading stamp business petered out in about twelve years, instead of the ten that I had figured, but by that time Gold Bond had diversified into other things, as S&H had also done."

While primarily a businessman, Randolph Crossley developed a keen interest in Island politics. "I got interested in Hawaiian politics

in the late 1930s. I had homes on both O'ahu and Kaua'i. I commuted back and forth every week. I joined the Republican Party on Kaua'i, first joining a precinct club. I didn't have any ambition to even be an officer in the precinct club, but the minute you sign up to do anything, your perspective changes. You see opportunities, you do this and you do that and pretty soon you're the head of it. Then they are dictating to you, 'You have to do this; you have to do that.' So I kept on going and then the war came. That changed everything. All the Japanese office holders left. So there were all these vacancies, so I thought 'I can't go to war, the military won't take me because I'm in food production, so I'll go into politics and at least help to preserve the government we have.'" The first time Crossley sought public office was in 1943, when he ran for the Territorial House of Representatives from Kaua'i against Manuel Henriques. After one term in the Territorial House, Crossley lost to Henriques in his bid to retain the seat.

Crossley did serve his country during World War II in another way. "During the war, the government came to me and said, 'We need you to help increase food production in Mexico.' So I went to Mexico to work on tropical fruits, because that was my specialty. First, I got them started in pineapple and then we went on to other crops: papaya, mango. I didn't know anything about Mexico and I didn't speak the language, but I had a translator and a guide. The first thing I asked for were maps of the places I was supposed to go. 'Well,' I was told, 'we don't have any maps.' So I went to the Mexican railroad and told them where I wanted to go. I told them I would be flying, but needed railroad maps to guide me. So my private pilot followed the railroad lines to each of the destinations on my itinerary. And I had some weird experiences, believe me. We generally landed in open fields. I did this for about six months during the early years of the war. My final report confirmed the fact that they had a serious transportation problem that would limit their ability to raise fruit and get it to its destination in a timely manner. They had two gauges of railroads, so in one part of Mexico they would harvest a crop, ship it to the next location where the tracks changed, transfer everything into a different car and move it along again. With a crop like pineapple, which ripens at 4% per day, this spelled disaster. So what I told them, essentially, was that they could grow these crops, but they couldn't ship them in a timely way.

That was Mexico. The only place where we were successful was in locations near Veracruz, which is a seaport, and therefore not dependent upon the Mexican railroad system."

Crossley returned to the political arena in 1950, once again facing Manuel Henriques in a contest to become a delegate from Kaua'i to Hawai'i's Constitutional Convention. As the contest approached, Henriques is reputed to have told his opponent, "Crossley, I have four hundred relatives here on Kaua'i. You have no chance to win." But Crossley did win, by a scant 175 votes. "One reason I won," Crossley relates, "was because one day when he was bragging about all his relatives, one of them came up to him and said, 'Manuel, I'm going to vote for Crossley. You're too stupid to be writing a constitution. Crossley came to see me and told me what a constitution was all about. You wouldn't even know how to begin writing one.' The Portuguese never spoke quietly about anything."

"And that was the constitution that brought us statehood [in 1959]. And when I was serving at that convention I was a member of more committees than any other individual. I worked my tail off. Before the convention began, I went all over the country studying state constitutions. I had made a name for myself in negotiating pineapple contracts, but the Constitutional Convention was where I established my political credentials." When the Constitutional Convention ended, Crossley was elected chairman of the Republican Party at a time when the Republicans saw an opportunity to exploit the specter of communism in Hawai'i. The Democrats were in disarray, having split during the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings which were going on at the same time the Constitutional Convention was being held. The Democratic Party held its convention close upon the heels of the Constitutional Convention and the HUAC hearings. At that convention, the Democrats divided among the "Stand-Pat" Democrats, who supported the so-called "Reluctant 39," who refused to testify before HUAC, and the "Walk-Out" Democrats, who left the convention to avoid being painted with the Red brush being wielded by the more conservative elements within the Republican Party. Crossley, although more than willing to accept any pro-Republican fallout that might come from the Democratic Party split, never personally engaged in any of the Red-baiting of the time.

According to Crossley, one of the reasons he was willing to take on the Republican Party chairmanship was that he firmly believed that the Republicans had missed a significant chance to solidify their political power at the end of World War II. He had tried to point this out to the corporate movers and shakers within the party at the time. "I went before the Hawaii Employers Council, with all of the top brass of the corporations, and I said, 'Gentlemen, we will have a great opportunity when the GIs who have taken advantage of the GI Bill get out of school and come back to Hawai'i to work, many of them as attorneys.' I said, 'Your job is to hire these guys and to give them good assignments in the various corporations.' The only company that would do anything at that time was Amfac, and theirs was only a token offer. The hierarchy of the corporate interests had no interest at all. Spark Matsunaga had been a protégé of the Farringtons and they thought that when he ran for public office he would run as a Republican. He was not a Burns man. And the Farringtons were quite disappointed when he ran as a Democrat. Then he tied up with Gill. They worked closely together. We could have had both of them in the Republican Party if we had reached out for them."

Frustrated with local Republican politics, and seeing a great opportunity on the national horizon, Crossley turned his political attention to Washington, D.C. Herbert Brownell, Eisenhower's chief political strategist in the 1952 presidential campaign and his eventual Attorney General, first got Crossley interested in the national Republican Party. Crossley had met Brownell as an attorney for Stokely-Van Camp. Brownell later became Crossley's personal attorney in the nation's capital.

Brownell and Crossley also "became very good personal friends." Through him, Crossley began to expand his mainland political connections. One of his new friends was the Los Angeles industrialist Justin Dart. Through Dart, Crossley also became acquainted with Richard M. Nixon. In 1950, Crossley brought Nixon to Hawai'i to be the keynote speaker at the Territorial Republican Convention. Nixon and his wife, Pat, stayed with the Crossleys at their Diamond Head home, further cementing their friendship.

Another man who was influential in Crossley becoming known to the national Republican Party was Kyle Palmer, a semi-retired colum-

nist from the *Los Angeles Times*. Palmer, who had moved to Hawai'i, continued to write for the *Times* while in Hawai'i. He was also very active in Republican Party politics. According to Crossley, Brownell, Nixon and Palmer all supported his nomination for territorial governor in 1953. It was arranged for Crossley to meet with President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower on his way back from the trip he had promised to make to Korea during the 1952 presidential campaign.

"I met with Eisenhower on his ship, returning from the Orient in 1952, before he took office. I went out to Pearl Harbor, had an interview with him and he said that without question he would propose me for governor of the Territory of Hawaii. Many meetings followed, first in New York before the inauguration and subsequently in Washington after he had been sworn in as President. There was only one problem. Eisenhower had been opposed by [Senator Robert A.] Taft [of Ohio for the Republican nomination for president]. I was for Eisenhower and the Farringtons were for Taft. Sam King was, of course, with the Farringtons. Whatever they did, Sam King did. And so, before my nomination came up before the full Senate, Taft and the Farringtons opposed it. They intended to kill it in committee. So I was called back to Washington to talk with the Department of Interior, which had jurisdiction over Hawai'i at that time—we were still a territory—and they told me they didn't want to get into a fight with Taft, because he really controlled the Senate." Unwilling to let it go, Crossley went to the powerful conservative Senator William F. Knowland of California, a family friend through his older sister, and asked him what was up. All he could get from Knowland was "You should be governor of the Territory of Hawaii, but I'm a member of the [Senate] club and I can't help you."

"So they asked me to take something else. Sherman Adams [the former New Hampshire governor who was Eisenhower's Chief of Staff] said, 'Randy, we want you to be Ambassador to Australia. You have a lot of friends down there.' I said, 'I don't want to be an ambassador, but if you do want me to be an ambassador, give me Japan. I speak the language, not well, but enough to get around,' and he said, 'OK, if that's what you want we'll see if we can get it.' I said, 'No, you can't get it for me. It's already been promised by [Secretary of State John Foster] Dulles to career diplomat John Allison.' In his memoir, *Allison's Wonderland*, there is a whole section about this episode. Sher-

man Adams persisted, placing a call to Dulles, who was in London. I know that Dulles wasn't very happy with the call and he said, 'I've already promised this, but if the president asks me to appoint Mr. Crossley, I will withdraw the name of Allison and appoint Crossley.' Well, the president wasn't about to ask him to withdraw a name that Dulles had already put forward."

"This goes to a story later on, when Eisenhower was long retired. He became a member of the Bohemian Club [of San Francisco], of which I was a member. When he came down to dinner one night—he was in a camp called Cave Man, which was former president Hoover's camp—Eisenhower was leading the troops from their camp into the dining circle and he came and he sat next to me. He turned to me and said, 'I'm Dwight Eisenhower.' I said, 'Yes, General, I recognize you.' Then he turned back to his people. Finally, he turned to me and said, 'We've met before, haven't we?' And I said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Where was that?' And I said, 'I was in the Oval Office seven times before you reneged on your promise to appoint me governor of Hawai'i.' Then there was dead silence. I was severely criticized for embarrassing the former president of the United States. Eisenhower just turned red. Strangely enough, just two tables away, Bill Knowland was sitting with another group. Pretty soon Eisenhower turned back to me and said, 'I made many mistakes when I came into the presidency and one of them was in the appointment of the governor of Hawai'i.' King, of course, only lasted one term."

In 1957, Bill Quinn was appointed governor of the Territory of Hawaii to replace Sam King who had an impossible relationship with the newly ascendant Democratic majority in the territorial legislature. Crossley indicated that he had been sounded out by friends within the Eisenhower administration about whether he would like his name advanced once again. His response was, "No, I no longer want to go through the process of maybe being nominated and not making it." Asked if he had any regrets about having said no, Crossley said, "Yes and no. My wife was not happy with the idea of me in that role and she thought it was good that I was out of it."

When asked if he knew Bill Quinn well, Crossley said, "Not really well. I traveled with him and I worked with him when I was in the Senate and he was governor. He's a nice guy. I went to Tahiti with him one time, and that was really quite an experience. We went with the

head of Hawaiian Airlines to see if we could get a route from Hawai'i to Tahiti to Los Angeles. Jim Michener [whom Crossley described as a frequent visitor to his Diamond Head home] was with us. When we got there, we landed at Bora Bora, then we took a flying boat over to Papeete. When we landed, the French governor's wife was at the pier to meet us. Through an interpreter she said that she was sorry, but she didn't speak English and inquired as to whether we would like an interpreter. With that, Bill Quinn spoke up and said, 'No need, I speak French.' So she made her speech and then he made his. After he finished, the governor's wife, not having understood a word of Quinn's efforts to speak French said, '*Pardon, monsieur, but I do not understand English.*' After that the group would kid Bill Quinn, whenever he said something to them in private by saying, '*Pardon, monsieur, but I do not understand English.*' But he took it well. Of course, very few French will acknowledge their language as spoken by a typical American. That was one of the highlights of the trip for me. The other highlight was going to Bora Bora with Michener."

When asked why he thought Quinn had defeated Burns for the governorship of the State of Hawaii in 1959, Crossley responded, "I think the bigger question is why Quinn lost in 1962. And the answer is that he didn't handle himself well as governor. First of all, he fought with his lieutenant governor, former Big Island Mayor James Kealoha, throughout his term. He didn't treat Kealoha, a Hawaiian, as an equal. He didn't give him the responsibilities he should have had." In the end, Kealoha ran against Quinn in the Republican gubernatorial primary in 1962, losing by over 10,000 votes. At the same time, Burns was winning his primary against Hyman Greenstein by a ten-to-one margin and adding part-Hawaiian Bill Richardson to his ticket as lieutenant governor. "As a matter of fact," Crossley continued, "I was closer to Kealoha than I was to Quinn. Quinn, of course wasn't a real Republican. Before coming to Hawai'i he was a Democrat. I think he became a Republican in order to qualify for the governorship, which was then an appointive office. He was a very capable attorney. He was a warm person to many, but I never felt that I was included in his camp. But that's not surprising because I was a pretty independent kind of guy."

Returning to his own political career, Crossley pointed out that statehood caused him to rethink his role in Hawaiian politics. "In 1959, when we became a state, I decided to run for office. You know

I helped to write the State Constitution in 1950. So I ran for the State Senate from O'ahu, not Kaua'i. I was given very little chance to win and I think I came in second on the ticket [out of eight candidates for four seats in the 4th district]. I served two terms, then they wanted me to continue, but I wouldn't do it." Thus Randolph Crossley left the Hawai'i State Senate in 1964, thinking he was through with elective politics.

But politics would not leave Randolph Crossley alone. "In 1966, I was out on my farm, which was out in Kipapa, and a couple of guys came out and said, 'We've got a problem. We want you to come in to the convention.' I wasn't even going to go to the convention. And I said, 'What's the problem?' They said, 'Well, Blaisdell won't run for governor and you're the only one who could possibly win. Quinn couldn't do it, because he couldn't be elected again, and we believe you're the only other one who could possibly do this.' And I said, 'No thanks.' They kept working and finally they asked me the next day if I would just come in. So I went to the convention and I addressed them and I said, 'You have many people who are capable of being governor of this state and I would urge you to select one of them. And then, I don't know who led it, but somebody led a draft Randy movement and I was nominated unanimously by the convention and ran." When it was pointed out that he had come within 4,500 votes of unseating Governor John A. Burns in 1966, Crossley quickly replied, "I came closer than that, but that's another story. We had absolute proof of fraud, but we couldn't get a recount. We took it clear up to the State Supreme Court, but they told us we had already had our day in court and that they would not hear our petition."

Crossley was quick to agree that his opening in 1966 had come about because of the split within the Democratic Party between Burns and Tom Gill. He readily acknowledged that his campaign against Burns was almost totally borrowed from Gill's primary campaign against Burns' chosen candidate for lieutenant governor, Kenneth Brown. Crossley had earlier political connections with Tom Gill. He recalled that, "In the Senate, I had worked on many conferences with Gill. As a matter of fact, the two of us worked out the law on interlocking directorships. Gill at that time said, 'Without Randy Crossley on the Senate side, this bill would never have become law.' And I was severely criticized by management because they liked interlocking

boards of directors. But I was opposed to it, always had been, and always would be."

Asked his thoughts about Tom Gill's controversial political career, Crossley responded, "Tom Gill was an enigma because his temper and his inner hatred warped his judgment many times. He always had a chip on his shoulder. Even when we were in conference in the Senate and the House, on this very difficult bill in interlocking directorates, I would finally tell him, 'Look, you're not fighting me. If you're going to fight me we're all through, we can quit this right now.' He was very difficult to work with until he would get rid of that chip, but when he got rid of that chip he had an excellent mind. He was a very keen operator."

Discussing Neal Blaisdell, the popular Republican Mayor of Honolulu whose refusal to run for governor in 1966 propelled him into the fray, Crossley characterized him as "a marketable candidate, not a heavyweight. And I think he let the party down when he would not run for governor. He was not really a good campaigner, actually, but you know how Hawai'i feels about athletes. He was a football hero and he had a big family—a family that was well liked. I liked them all and I liked Blaisdell, but he was not a heavyweight. I used to coach Neal in public speaking and how to debate. But Blaisdell's greatest strength as mayor was that he delegated the work to people that could do it."

Crossley was never close to John A. Burns. "Burns was aloof. I was amazed when he appointed me to the Electoral College in 1972 because he didn't have any love for me. He didn't have any hatred for me, but he certainly didn't have any love for me. I just ignored him, but he was aloof from a lot of people. His brother, Ed, had been an officer in the Republican Party, but he was a lightweight." In assessing Burns as a governor, Crossley said, "I'd have to think about that. Some things that he did were good." Crossley went on to compare Burns with Clinton, saying, "Clinton came in as the economics had changed for the better and he just rode it. He had nothing to do with anything that advanced it, but he didn't get in the way. The same thing was true with Burns."

Speaking of his unsuccessful 1974 run for governor, Crossley said, "That was very much against my better judgment. The strangest thing was that my wife, who had always hated politics, said, 'I think you ought to run. You're the only person who could possibly beat Ariyoshi. You

owe it to the party.' Even before the 1974 election my wife had formed a group called the Every Thursday Club. They did needlepoint and the proceeds from the sale of their work went to the Republican Party. They raised substantial amounts of money. I think the first year it was \$18,000."

Having answered the Republican Party's call, Crossley waited once again to see if the Democratic Party would weaken itself in a bitterly contested primary fight, as it had in 1966. Acting Governor George Ariyoshi not only faced Burns' old nemesis, Tom Gill, but Honolulu's maverick mayor, Frank Fasi, and the leader of the State Senate, David McClung. In the Democratic primary, Ariyoshi won with only 36% of the vote; Frank Fasi was second with 32%; Tom Gill finished third with 30%; and David McClung got the remaining 2% of the vote. Just two weeks before the election, Frank Fasi held a seven-point lead over Ariyoshi, but the Burns coalition pulled the acting governor through in the end. Both Burns and Ariyoshi wanted a racially balanced ticket, but their neophyte Hawaiian candidate, Daniel Akaka, was defeated by the Japanese-American candidate Nelson Doi by just over 15,000 votes. Had former City Council Chairman Herman Lemke not split the Hawaiian vote, receiving over 19,000 votes in the primary, Ariyoshi might have had the balanced ticket he had hoped for.

Crossley also saw the potential value of a racially balanced ticket. "I wanted George Mills to run with me. He had done such a good job in 1966 and I really felt that if we were going to have any chance against Ariyoshi we had to have a Hawaiian on the ticket. But Ben Dillingham was recommended by a number of people. He had two things going for him. One was that he had already been elected to public office before, which gave him political name recognition. The other thing was that he could help to finance the campaign. I had also enjoyed a close personal relationship with the Dillingham family, as neighbors. The Republicans figured that I was the only one who had a chance because I had done so well in 1966. But looking back, I don't think that anybody could have beaten Ariyoshi unless he was both Japanese and a Democrat. Somebody like Dan Inouye."

Crossley and Dillingham did far better than expected, losing to Ariyoshi and Doi by a 54% to 46% margin. The proof that the Democrats had done their best to undermine their own cause is found in the fact that over 54,000 voters who had cast their ballots for a Democratic

candidate for governor in the primary either failed to vote or voted for the Republican ticket in the general election. Once again, Randolph Crossley had given a good account of himself as the candidate of the minority party.

There was much more to Randolph Crossley than business and politics. Crossley not only learned the Hawaiian language when he was establishing himself as a businessman in the 1930s, he also became a student of Hawaiian history, culture, geology and botany. To this day, he lectures on Captain Cook, who “discovered” the Hawaiian Islands for the Western world, the law of the sea, the royal family of Hawai‘i, and upon those natural phenomena which have shaped so much of Hawaii’s history, volcanoes and tsunamis. “I studied about volcanoes under the guidance of Thomas A. Jaggar, perhaps the most outstanding volcanologist who ever has lived. Jaggar, who earned a Ph.D. in geology from Harvard University in 1897, ran the experimental station at Kilauea for many years.”

“I did the nationwide broadcast in 1936 about the lava flow out of Mauna Loa towards Hilo on NBC. I was at a football game at the time and Lorrin P. Thurston, publisher of the *Honolulu Advertiser*, saw me. He said, ‘You know Hawaiian legends and you know the Hawaiian language and we are commissioned to do this broadcast. Will you come and do the commentary and tell the legends of Pele?’ I said, ‘Sure.’” With about thirty-six hours to prepare, Crossley had to deal with both the content of his presentation and the location.

“We went over to Humu‘ula on the Big Island. I said, ‘Where are we going to stay and how are we going to eat?’ And he said, ‘We’ll stay at Parker Ranch at Humu‘ula, the sheep station at the 6,000-foot level. We got over there and he met Hartwell Carter. Thurston and Carter had been at Yale together. And he said to Hartwell—I was standing right there—and he said, ‘We’re over here to do this broadcast and I wondered if you could accommodate us?’ He hemmed and hawed and finally said, ‘Well, you know, father. . .’ If you ever knew Hartwell’s father, Alfred Carter, there was a man who had no use for anyone or anything outside the trusteeship that he had for the Parker Ranch. So we went into the cookhouse and bribed the cook to give us some food. All we got was some hardtack and jam and that’s what we lived on for two days, except when I was out in the field, at the end of the line. There I sat on a dead ‘mike’ [microphone] and all these Hawaiians

were sitting around, all of the *paniolas* and their families, watching the lava go by, and I said into the microphone, 'This is Crossley, this is Crossley, I still have not received any food. I've been out here now so many hours. Is there any way you can get me any food?' With that, all of the Hawaiians started coming with food and I had more food than I could ever eat. Nobody else in our whole party got a bite of anything."

Crossley's friends in Hawai'i were many and varied. He spoke warmly of his relationship with the Dillingham family. Crossley's home at 3073 Noela Drive, in the Diamond Head section of O'ahu, was right below the Dillingham estate, La Pietra [now the home of Hawaii School for Girls]. Crossley's home was built on land that had been formerly owned by Walter Dillingham. "He had ten acres there and he sold several lots to family and close friends. I was very close to Walter Dillingham. I was also close to Lowell Dillingham and became the godfather of his second child. Walter Dillingham was a loner, not a part of the Big Five, so it was natural for me, when I was anti-Big Five, to attach myself to Walter Dillingham. Walter Dillingham was an outsider that they couldn't keep out. I was an outsider they could keep out. The Dillinghams had established themselves through their control of railroad construction first and then dredging. The dredging [of Pearl Harbor] was where the really big money came from."

"Louise Dillingham was a wonderful person. I used to play tennis with her all the time. I could just walk through the back gate and I was there. I was her partner in many tournaments. She was an interesting person and I'll never forget one time when we had had a party and I had invited the Dillinghams. I had a Mexican magician performing at the party and Louise Dillingham was intrigued with him. He also had a son who played the guitar. Later, when she was giving a party, she asked me if she couldn't hire the magician and his son. I said, 'No, but I will be happy to invite them as your guests.' When all the guests were seated, her Mexican guests were seated at her right and left, not the guest of honor. After dinner they performed and refused to take any money. Of course, I had already taken care of them. But that's the way she was, very democratic. She loved people and entertained beautifully."

"The other family we were very close to was the McCandless family. They lived on Liliha. The whole interior of their home was *koa* and the

whole exterior was lava rock. The thing I remember most of all was Thanksgiving dinner. There would be forty of us at the dinner table, and that didn't include the children, who had their own table in a different room. The McCandless family made its original fortune drilling for water. This put them in a unique position to evaluate land values in the Islands and they acquired a great deal of land, especially on the Big Island. They may still own some, unless they have sold off everything." Lincoln McCandless is best known to historians as Hawai'i's Democratic Delegate to Congress during the early 1930s.

"Mrs. McCandless was interested in literature and she had a wonderful library. Among other things, she had one of the finest collections of books on tropical horticulture in the United States. When she died, her daughter inherited her books and gave the horticultural collection to the National Tropical Botanical Gardens at Lāwa'i, on the Island of Kaua'i. I used to lecture on that garden. Her collection became the basis for their excellent library."

"When that property came up for sale in about 1932, it was owned by McBryde Sugar. The land had once been owned by Queen Emma, the wife of Kamehameha IV. Emma had a home at Lāwa'i Kai. It was built like an amphitheater, about 150 feet from top to bottom, all covered with bougainvillea, with the Lāwa'i stream coming down through the center of the property. All told, it covered 159 acres and it was for sale for \$55,000. I was just starting in the pineapple business, and didn't have the money to even consider purchasing the property. The reason the property was on the market was that the heirs to the McBryde fortune were fighting over the division of the property. Unable to come to any agreement, they decided to sell the land and split the money. I would have loved to own that property."

"A fellow by the name of Robert Allerton bought the property. Allerton was from Chicago. His wealth came from ownership of 'The Loop' in Chicago. He immediately put about 100 stone cutters to work, building walls and terraces. Gradually, they added to the land from McBryde Sugar and started collecting. It may now be the finest tropical garden in the world. When Allerton died, he left the property to his adopted son, John Gregg, with two provisions: First, that John Gregg change his last name to Allerton, which he did; and second, that upon his death he would give the gardens to a public trust, and

that's where it is today. That trust was funded by the property and the residue of the Allerton estate."

"I became so interested in the gardens that about twenty years ago I got a professional photographer to take pictures of every plant of value, medicinal plants in particular. These were made into slides which I used when I gave lectures on the gardens. The script and slides are somewhere in my archives. The Lane family of *Sunset Magazine* became involved with the gardens and gave a building that is at the entrance to the gardens, which now cover over 400 acres. This building now houses the library that was begun by Mrs. McCandless and was added to when my wife and I donated our collection of books on tropical botany to the Gardens. That collection now has over 4,000 books."

Crossley had a personal history with the Akaka family. "I had heard Abraham Akaka give a speech at some function on the Big Island in the late 1960s and I thought, 'Gee, this guy is good, I'd like to hear more of him.' So I went to his church that Sunday. After the service I met Akaka and introduced myself. At that time he told me that he was leaving the Big Island for O'ahu and would be taking over the ministry at Kawaiaha'o Church, the oldest church in the Islands. So I began attending Kawaiaha'o Church regularly. After I'd been there a year or two they asked me to serve on their board of directors. I was the only *haole* on the board. I served for five years. I was also the board treasurer. For three of those five years they didn't know I could understand the Hawaiian language and when they would disagree with me they would go into Hawaiian when they were trying to find a way they could go around me."

"It was during the late 1960s that I got very close to the Akaka family. As a matter of fact, Abraham's two oldest daughters stayed with my wife and me at our home for one whole summer. At the time, Abraham's brother Danny was a secondary school music teacher. Danny Akaka actually made his move into politics with the assistance of George Ariyoshi."

At the end of the 1960s I broke with Abraham Akaka over the question of whether I would be appointed a trustee of the Bishop Estate. I had been nominated and told that if I could get some real Hawaiian backing, I could become a trustee. I thought that would be a great

opportunity, so I went to Abraham Akaka and asked for his help. He told me that he was going to try to get the appointment for himself. When I asked him if he thought he had the business experience necessary for that position, he responded, 'Well, that would be my pension.' When I observed that this didn't seem to be his calling, he persisted in saying that was what he was going to do. So I resigned from the church board."

One of the important threads in Crossley's life during his last seventeen years in Hawai'i was his membership in the famous Bohemian Club in San Francisco. "One of the members of the Stokley organization on the West Coast was a member and he proposed me for membership. I became a member in 1961 and maintained an apartment at the Club in San Francisco for the remainder of my time in Hawai'i. When I was living in Hawai'i I went to San Francisco twenty to twenty-five times a year on business. I would generally arrange my business meetings on Thursday, fly over on the 'red-eye' leaving late Wednesday night, conduct my business, go to the show at the Bohemian Club on Thursday night and come home on Friday."

Asked why he had left Hawai'i in 1978, Crossley said, "Our daughter, Meredith Lokelani Young, and her children, all born in Hawai'i, had moved to the mainland. They moved to Oregon. My wife was by now quite ill and she wanted to be near the children. So I said, 'Well, do you want to live in Oregon?' She said, 'No.' So we settled on Pebble Beach and she was very happy there. We had a lovely home. Next to her bedroom, because she was bed-ridden most of the time, we built a large garden room—forty feet long, twenty feet wide and eighteen feet tall—and we grew tropical plants. We had full-grown plumeria trees, papayas, anthuriums and ginger. So she was very happy. She died on September 9, 1997."

Pressed further on the relationship between his business problems of the mid-1970s and his 1978 departure, we turned to a discussion of The Hawaii Corporation, in general, THC Financial, specifically. While it was clearly a painful experience, Crossley firmly maintains that it was not the reason for his departure from the Islands. Whether it was or not, it was an interesting chapter in Hawai'i's business history, one that Crossley was willing to discuss with a good deal of candor.

"The Hawaii Corporation started at the turn of the century, known as the Von Hamm-Young Company. It had become The Hawaii Cor-

poration shortly before I bought a controlling interest in it. The man who had bought it and changed the name of the company had died. This was in about 1964, before my first race for governor in 1966. It was the first time I had ever been associated with a publicly traded company, so I had to learn a whole new business procedure. The stock was traded locally, over-the-counter. There was very little float; I had most of the stock, but I got a whole new education in how to run a publicly traded company. I'm sorry I ever did."

"The Hawaii Corporation was in construction, automotive sales and service, merchandising and financial services. Most of the business of the company I could handle very well, especially the construction business, because I had done a lot of that. Pacific Construction was one of their profitable divisions. But the company also had this finance company, which did the financing of all the general merchandising like refrigerators and furniture. And they took all that paper. That was THC Financial. I was not prepared to run this kind of company and I turned it over to other people. And this is how I got into trouble. Those people took advantage of the opportunity to make a lot of bad loans. They were very aggressive. Of course, I got the total blame for that. These loans caused the downfall of THC Financial and that caused the downfall of The Hawaii Corporation. This was in 1976. That was a terrific blow. I put all the money I had into the effort to save the company. At the time of the bankruptcy I had contributed more than \$2 million of my personal funds and I had no more money."

"This was the first really substantial failure of a company in Hawai'i, and it didn't have to happen. The only bad part of that corporation was the financial institution, and yet everything fell because of that. The construction company was very profitable. General merchandising was still profitable. Automotive was doing about \$10 million a year and it was profitable. But I had lost favor with the banks and that's what allowed it to happen."

"The men who ran THC Financial were all *kama'ainas* who had lived in Hawai'i for a long time. They were politically strong and they were never held accountable for their role in the failure of THC Financial." Crossley said he didn't want to mention any names, but did add, "My wife begged me not to take any of them to court. She said, 'I don't think I could stand going through a long and difficult court case.' She covered all of our household expenses while I was try-

ing to get back on my feet financially. But you know, the thing I'm most proud of is the fact that after that failure I began to do consulting work and other things and today I have a net worth close to half-a-million dollars."

When the Crossleys came to the mainland in 1978, the only way they were able to settle down in a place like Pebble Beach was because of his wife's money. "She sold the house in Diamond Head for \$1.8 million. That all went to my wife. And then she used that to buy the property on the mainland. We bought an existing home in Pebble Beach and totally remodeled it, making some unique additions such as the indoor tropical garden and an indoor lawn bowling green. I loved lawn bowling. I was president of the lawn bowling club in Hawai'i. We used to bowl two or three times a week in Ala Moana Park. I once represented the United States in lawn bowling. In our place in Pebble Beach, I built a single alley—fifteen feet by one hundred and twenty feet. I brought carpeting from England to make the green and we formed the Pebble Beach Lawn Bowling Club. We used to have people from all over come and bowl there."

Our last topic of conversation dealt with Dr. Clifford Keene, "the man who established Kaiser-Permanente in Hawai'i and was instrumental in getting the medical school to the University of Hawai'i." His widow also lives at the Park Lane in Monterey. "When I first came here after Florence died, he was still alive and I talked to him about it because I was directly opposed to a medical school at the University of Hawai'i. I felt that the University of Hawai'i should have been putting its resources into marine science, astronomy and tropical agriculture—into the things that could be done uniquely in Hawai'i and not any other place. After all, we had established a relationship between students who were qualified to go to medical school under a program in which the state would subsidize sending students to medical school if they had qualified. It also included an obligation to come back to Hawai'i for a number of years after their graduation."

Thus, this man who spent almost half a century in the Islands, continues to think about the welfare of his adopted home, critically and lovingly at the same time. Over the past two decades, Crossley has lectured extensively about the natural history of Hawai'i in California. Crossley and John A. Burns disagreed on many subjects, but on one point they were in perfect agreement. Burns said many times that

being Hawaiian was a matter of the heart, not the blood. If this is true, even in times when political correctness would seem to argue the opposite, the life of Randolph Crossley would suggest that he has every right to call himself Hawaiian.

NOTES

¹ T. Michael Holmes, *The Specter of Communism in Hawaii* (Honolulu: U Hawaii P, 1994).

² Dan Boylan and T. Michael Holmes, *John A. Burns: The Man and His Times* (Honolulu: U Hawaii P, 1994).

